

181 Estonians which they tried to resist as long as
474 they could. Not only economically but also
[44] psychologically the formerly free Estonian farm-
[87] ers feel themselves to be kolkhoz slaves. As a
recent refugee from Soviet Estonia has said, this
year the situation has been made even more
desperate and more like a medieval feudalism
by the forbidding of kolkhoz workers to send their
children to city schools. The result of this order
is that the rural Estonians are attached to the
soil with their entire families. Under these
circumstances the people are unhappy, and it
will be a long time before they are adjusted, if
they ever can adjust, to this kind of life. They
do their required work because they well know
what the alternative is--deportation and ill
treatment, perhaps even death, in remote
Russia.

648 land and all large industrial enterprises. Accord-
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ing to the Estonian Constitution, such laws could be passed only by the National Assembly, a two-chamber parliament. But the State Council never was elected and the election of the House of Representatives was illegal.¹ Estonia was incorporated into the Soviet Union on August 6, 1940, and became the Estonian SSR, sixteenth republic in the USSR. The diplomatic representatives of the Estonian Republic abroad took care that the Western world was informed of this act of aggression. The countries of the West, with very few exceptions, have never recognized the Soviet occupation of Estonia.

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[625] Parallel with the economic sovietization of Estonia worked the terror of the secret police, NKVD (People's Commissariat of the Interior),

later the MVD (Ministerstvo Vnutrennikh Del,

Ministry of Internal Affairs)
1/2 [See cat. 116, pp. 61-2--63--#analyst]

- 661 Ministry of Internal Affairs). The nightly arrests of people started as early as July, 1940.

[643] President K. Päts was forced to resign on July 23, and in August of the same year he and his family were deported to Ufa, USSR. No information has ever been given to the Estonian people about their former president. General J. Laidoner and many higher officers were also deported in the same summer, as were the majority of former ministers, among them Jaan Tõnisson, former Prime Minister and one of the most prominent Estonian leaders during the previous four decades. Nearly 10,000 people were arrested and deported during the first year of occupation. Some 2,000 people were executed in Estonia. Hitler's war preparations against the USSR incited the Communists to speed up their deportations. On the nights of June 13 and 14

- 661 over 10,000 people were unexpectedly arrested and deported in boxcars to the distant regions of the USSR. Husbands and wives were separated at the stations; mothers with children were put in separate cars, and the families were never united again. Ninety per cent of the deportees were Estonians; the rest belonged to other nationalities. Statistics of the professions of deportees show that 42.7 per cent were manual and office workers, 26.3 per cent farm owners, and 16.9 per cent civil servants and technical personnel. With these deportations the Soviets endeavored: 1) to remove the leaders and patriotic elements from the local population, 2) to break the will for resistance, and 3) to weaken the nation physically. After the first night of mass deportation many people left their homes to escape arrest.

721 from Estonia tell that armed resistance contin-
725 ued in Estonia through 1946. In the winter of
1946-47 large-scale "tactical maneuvers" were
organized and the forests along Lake Peipus and
in Alutaguse, Virumaa, as well as in Pärnumaa
and Võrumaa were combed. These operations
broke the large-scale resistance of the Forest
Brothers.

727 The Second Soviet Occupation continued where
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177, the first had ended, only the Soviets were now
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477 much more self-confident and violent and they
had more time. Everything that even slightly
resembled the Western economic and cultural
systems had to be changed to match the USSR's
Estonian agriculture was collectivized with the
help of a large-scale mass deportation in March,
1949. Without such measures of terror the
Soviets could not break the resistance of the

727 Estonian farmers who were attached to their

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177 homes and land, bought with hard labor from the

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474 German estate owners some generations before.

With the collectivization of agriculture the

Estonian farm owners have become attached to

the large kolkhozes, and Estonian industry has

been organized according to the needs of the

Soviet Union, its production going mainly to

the USSR.

871 Political indoctrination is carried out in all

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208 schools from kindergarten through the university;

persecution of the Church seemed to be much

more obvious now than it was during the First

Occupation.¹

642 The members of the government of the Esto-

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nian SSR and other Communist officials who

escaped to Russia when the Germans occupied

Estonia, returned and resumed their duties as

1[See Vol. 116, pp. 57-65⁷²-- Analyst]

642 soon as the Red Army had driven out the Ger-
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mans. However, their rule did not last too long.

Dr. J. Vares died suddenly, reportedly by his own hand. Other members of his cabinet have been accused of "bourgeois nationalism" and consequently have been purged and have disappeared from public life. A great purge has been carried out also in the Estonian Communist Party and in cultural institutions during 1950-51. Many Russians of Estonian extraction have been appointed members of the government and leaders of other institutions.

648 So at the end of World War II the Iron Curtain fell between the Baltic States and the West to which they have heretofore belonged.

000 A more detailed survey of the situation in occupied Estonia is given in the following chapters.

563 of the Estonian Germans migrated to Germany
167 and in 1944, before the second Russian occupa-
tion, the Swedish population of Estonia left en
masse for Sweden.

727 During World War II the population of Estonia
661 suffered great losses. During the first occupa-
tion of Estonia by the Soviet Union in 1940-41,
especially in June 1941, a mass deportation of
over 10,000 Estonians took place to remote
territories of the Soviet Union. In addition to
these losses, the Soviet officials, when with-
drawing their military forces from Estonia (in
June-September, 1941) before the advancement
of the German army, mobilized over 33,000 men,
among them many regulars in the Estonian army,
and took them to Russia. The approximate
number of Estonian citizens deported, mobilized,
arrested and murdered by Soviet officials during

727 the first occupation from 1940 to 1941 is estimated
[66] at around 100,000.

During the 1941-44 German occupation the losses of the Estonian people were also considerable. Although there are no controlled data as yet, estimations have been made that 4000-6000 people were exterminated; 5000-6000 killed in action or in guerrilla warfare; and 2000-3000 killed in bombardments, making a loss of from 11,000 to 15,000 people altogether.

167 Before the second Russian occupation of Estonia in the fall of 1944 some 63,000 Estonians left their home country as refugees, mainly going to Sweden and to Western Europe. In 1945 there were in Sweden 28,000 Estonian refugees and in western Germany, Austria, Belgium and Denmark over 30,000. Beginning with the year 1947 the latter group migrated to England and to countries overseas. -85-

000countries overseas.

727 Altogether, the losses of the original Estonian population during World War II could possibly be as high as 200,000. After World War II the deportations continued, so that at the present time it is impossible to estimate how much of the orig-

[16] inal population is now left in Estonia. Population estimates from Soviet Estonia now appear to be about the same as, or even larger than, those for Estonia of 1939. These surprisingly high estimates, however, may perhaps be explained by the large numbers of Soviet military personnel, workers, and political officials who have been brought into this country.

167 The present trend of migration in the Estonian
• 661 SSR presents a sad picture of the depopulation of the country of its original inhabitants. According to information gathered from German POW's

167 who have returned from the Soviet Union, data

661 obtained from recent refugees, and clandestine letters, there was at least one mass deportation of Estonians, Latvians and Lithuanians in March, 1949, as well as numerous smaller ones. The March deportation was concerned mainly with the rural population, its aim being to get rid of the opponents of collectivization. This deportation had the desired effect for the Soviet occupants of Estonia: kolkhozation proceeded smoothly from then on. As for the number of deportees in March, 1949, controlled data are lacking, but all sources agree that it was more extensive than the June, 1949, mass deportation of 10,000 people.

000 One could conclude that all migration in the Estonian SSR is at present a forced migration and is carried out according to the plans of the Communist Party, which is eager to get rid of

873 korporatsiooned were slow to realize that times had changed drastically and that they could not afford a luxurious student life; many students became so burdened with debts that they had to give up their studies indefinitely. Nevertheless, the exotic customs and colored caps and ribbons, together with certain elaborate ceremonies, had such an appeal to young students that the membership of the korporatsioonid was, at the end of independence, slightly higher than the Societies'.

[661] During the First Communist Occupation all korporatsioonid and societies were liquidated and their properties confiscated. Their old student traditions are today cherished only among Estonian refugees abroad. The great majority of the university students in occupied Estonia seem to prefer to stay "wild" rather than to join the Communist youth organizations.

000 destroyed.

874 In the summer of 1940, and again in 1944 after
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• 661 the Nazi-German occupation, Tartu University
became the State University of the Estonian SSR,
subordinate to Moscow. The most striking
losses during this war period had been suffered
by the University's staff. There were only 23
professors and 19 docents and lecturers left
of the entire prewar university staff--the rest
of the staff were dead or deported (37), in exile
(90), or had completely disappeared (22). All
the instructors were purged and the undesirable
elements among them were deported. Many
instructors were brought in from the Soviet
Union to fill those jobs formerly held by Esto-
nian educators.

177 Fundamental changes have taken place in the
87 organization of the University. The Faculty of
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727. World War II and especially the Communist occupations have caused extremely heavy losses to the churches of Estonia and seriously affected her entire religious life. Many churches were damaged and now stand in ruins. At the present time Tallinn has only two churches open for

worship and Tartu has no church at all. Of the

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• 661 Lutheran pastors only 80 remained in 1944; this number has decreased now more than 50 per cent, the majority being deported. During the withdrawal of Soviet troops at the beginning of the Nazi-Soviet war in 1941, two Lutheran pastors were brutally murdered and fifteen deported. The names of three murdered priests from the Greek Orthodox Church are known, and eleven priests were deported in 1941.

The number of Estonian refugee-clergymen who escaped to the Western world is around 70,

793 among whom are the Bishop of the Evangelical

• 661 Lutheran Church, Dr. J. Köpp (in Sweden) and
Metropolitan Alexander (died in Sweden in 1944).

798 Cruel persecution of the whole religious life

793 in present-day Estonia is becoming clear by the
following facts. Since the Theological Faculty
at Tartu University was liquidated by the Com-
munists in 1940 there is now no instruction for
the training of clergy. After a few years Esto-
nia will be without ministers entirely. Despite
the present scarcity of pastors it is forbidden
for pastors to minister to several congregations.

[66] Pastor A. Pähn who was appointed bishop in
1945 was soon deported to forced labor in Russia.
For several years the Church was without a
head. The Church now is ruled by the trustee
of ecclesiastical affairs of the Communist Party;
Rev. Jaan Kiivit was appointed Bishop. Sermons

THE NORTH-WESTERN BORDER

Es. of the new shale mines, shale-refining plants, electric power stations, etc., while increasing the economic potential of the U.S.S.R. as a whole, has perceptibly intensified the manpower problem from which Estonia is suffering as a consequence of the war. Thousands of Estonians fell in action during the hostilities, thousands were deported to the East by Soviet authorities in 1941 and many thousands more fled from their mother-country westward to escape the Soviet régime. The loss of such a considerable number of her inhabitants – many of them able-bodied people in the prime of life – has depleted the already scanty manpower resources of the little country. Hardly a single article on Estonian economy appearing in Soviet publications after the war has omitted to stress that Estonia's exceptional shortage of labour was a handicap for the reconstruction work in that country. This shortcoming has been remedied in the usual way, namely by importing Russian manpower in large enough numbers to fill the gaps created by the voluntary or forced exodus of the Estonians. Russian technical experts, mining engineers and skilled workers are helping to keep the wheels of Estonian economy turning. This applies especially to the 'Estonian Donbass', where can be found coal-miners from the Donets Basin and from the Moscow Province and shale-miners from the distant Volga.³¹

S.U. While Russian colonization of Eastern Estonia is prompted by economic considerations a strategic colonization is simultaneously taking place in Estonia's 'Far West', her islands in the Baltic. The latter are important outposts of the U.S.S.R. as a whole and it is not surprising that the Soviet authorities should have sent there not only soldiers and sailors but also settlers. Thus on the small island of Vormsi, where there had never been a single Russian, there is now a Russian school with seven forms.³² In so far as the islands preserved their Estonian character the Soviet authorities were determined to transform them into particularly reliable communist strongholds. Thus the 'movement' for the collectivization of Estonian agriculture originated under the guidance of a Russian party secretary on the island of Saaremaa (Ösel) where the first 'Kolkhoz' was formed in the autumn of 1947.³³

Es. [660] When Soviet troops occupied Estonia in June 1940 the Estonian Communist Party was extremely small. In Estonia itself it had been decimated by the terror of the 'bourgeois régime', while the ranks of the Estonian communists in Russia had been depleted through Stalin's big purge. In the first half of 1940 small communist organizations existed in Tallin, where the party had between 120 and 150 members, and in other Estonian towns such as Tartü, Narva and Pärnu. In February 1941, over seven months after the establishment of the Soviet régime, the Estonian Communist Party had 2,107 full members and candidate-members which corresponded to 0.2 per cent of the total population of the country.* The newly recruited party members included

* *Sovetskaya Estoniya*, April 7th and 8th, 1951.

quite a number of prominent left-wing intellectuals to whom Moscow⁶⁶⁵ had surrendered the leading governmental posts in the country, in the absence of genuine die-hard communists. Thus the well-known Estonian historian, Hans Kruus, was at first Deputy Prime Minister of Soviet Estonia, and later Foreign Minister. The poet, Johannes Semper, was Soviet Estonia's first Minister of Education. The writer and poet, Johannes Barbarus (Vares), was President of Soviet Estonia until his death in 1947.

All these and other leading officials of the Estonian S.S.R. used to be⁵¹⁷ people of considerable standing in 'bourgeois Estonia'. They were both⁵⁵⁴ pro-Russian and pro-Communist, but they were also imbued with Estonian¹⁷⁷ national traditions. They had all been reared in the spirit of the literary movement 'Young Estonia' (Nõor Eesti), which had been both progressive and cosmopolitan in character. Its principal slogan used to be: 'More culture, more European culture. Be Estonians, but be Europeans as well'.²⁴ Estonian literature had been much more influenced by Western writers and poets than by Russian ones. To be cut off from Western contacts was therefore an unbearable thought to intellectual communists such as Johannes Semper, who had translated into Estonian the works of Victor Hugo, Emile Zola and Verhaeren.

Another tradition dear to all Estonians is that connected with the¹⁸⁶ National Song Festival the first of which was held in 1869 and was the⁵²⁷ first great manifestation of Estonian nationhood. Even many Estonian⁵³³ communists thought that the festival, which was celebrated both under the Czarist régime and in the independent Estonian Republic, ought to be preserved as an expression of the artistic genius of the Estonian people. The Twelfth Estonian Song Festival of 1947, the first to be held in Soviet Estonia, was organized by people whom one could with some exaggeration describe as national Estonian communists. Under their leadership the festival made ideological concessions to the Soviet régime, but it was at least Estonian in form. Russian songs and Russian choirs had been kept out of it.

The central authorities of the U.S.S.R. could not in the long run toler-⁶⁶¹ ate this attitude of the Estonian intellectual *élite*, its attempt to reconcile communism with friendliness towards Western European culture. As soon as the situation was ripe, the régime had to strike its blow against the recalcitrant Estonian communists and establish total ideological uniformity in Estonia. In the spring of 1950, on the eve of a new Song Festival, the régime considered that the moment was appropriate for a big shake up. The men who in June, 1940, had lent themselves so willingly as tools of the Soviet régime were removed from their posts. The same fate was meted out even to all the Moscow-trained Estonian communists who had not given proof of sufficient vigilance in the discovery of nationalist trends in the Estonian S.S.R.